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AUTHOR Pitner, Nancy J.
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ABSTRACT

Assessing school administrator training involves comparing what administrators do with what they are trained to do in university preservice programs and non-university inservice programs. Research on educational administrators shows their work activities are brief, discontinuous, unpredictable, verbal, and generally unrelated to school instruction or curriculum. University preservice programs for administrators are fairly uniform and offer only limited field experience. Little research has been done to evaluate these university programs; however, scholars' observations and the comments from practicing school administrators indicate that preservice training fails to prepare administrators to make quick decisions, communicate effectively, and deal with value-laden issues. These criticisms suggest that administrator preparation must include both cognitive and technical skills. Presently, educational administrators acquire technical skills through inservice programs that augment or replace graduate training; these include nonresidential graduate programs, various clinical training strategies, and inservice education. The inservice programs all relate to specific job content, match problems with solutions, and favor peer communication. Deciding the content of preservice or inservice training involves identifying the knowledge or skills needed, specifying the scope and sequence of the training, and determining the people and programs responsible for each segment of the training content. (RW)

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TRAINING OF THE SCHOOL ADMINISTRATOR: STATE OF THE ART

by

Nancy J. Pitner

R & D

Center for Educational Policy and Management

Division of Educational Policy and Management

College of Education, University of Oregon
Eugene, Oregon 97403

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION 1

WHAT ADMINISTRATORS DO AND THE EFFECTS 2

Administrator Work Activity
Administrator Impact, Effectiveness, and Behavior

THE PREPARATION OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS 11

Academic Programs
The Inadequacies of Administrator Training

BRIDGING THE GAP 24

Nonresidential Graduate Programs
Clinical Training Strategies
Inservice Education in School Organizations
Inservice Training in Industry
Summary

CHANGING ADMINISTRATOR PREPARATION 39

Administrative Work
University Programs
Facilitating Structures
Summary

. . . . . .

Notes. 53

References 54

TRAINING OF THE SCHOOL ADMINISTRATOR: STATE OF THE ART

INTRODUCTION

This paper examines the state of the art of administrator preparation. We review several major studies of administrator training that focus on the modal characteristics of the students and programs, perceived trends and needs in the preparatory programs, and the discrepancy that exists between training needs and training opportunities (Culbertson, et al. 1969; Farquhar and Piele 1972; and Silver and Spuck 1978). The researchers drew their data from the opinions and perceptions of people personally involved in the study and practice of school administration, from literature reviews, and from questionnaire surveys of scholars, practitioners, professors, and recently graduated students of educational administration. Our review of these studies serves as a foundation for the attempt to provide a current picture of the field of school administrator training.

To this end, the paper is organized into four sections. The first section addresses the question, What do administrators do and what are the effects? We raise this question because much criticism of graduate programs rests on alleged discrepancies among administrator training, administrator work, and administrator effectiveness. The second section examines university programs for the graduate training of school administrators, as well as the purported breakdown of that training. In the third section, we consider efforts to bridge the gap between graduate training and the realities of school administration; these efforts include

clinical training models and inservice training. The fourth section is devoted to proposed changes in administrator training. We identify provocative themes in the preceding sections, propose a new direction based upon these themes, and describe a structure to facilitate making the needed changes in administrator preparation.

WHAT ADMINISTRATORS DO AND THE EFFECTS

It is difficult to ignore the testimony of school administrators that their training programs are far from adequate in preparing them to resolve the problems they face. Since administrators claim they are unprepared for the realities of managerial work, it behooves us to examine what that work entails and its impact on the school organization.

What do we know about school administrators? In a review of the research on school administrators, Bridges (1981) notes eight perspectives that serve as the focal points of his study: expectations, power, sentiments, effectiveness, impact, traits, behavior, and work activity. This section concerns itself only with administrator effectiveness, impact, behavior, and work activity in order to consider what is or should be the relationship between administrator work and training.

Administrator Work Activity

What do educational administrators do? Several observational studies of superintendents (Campbell and Cunningham 1959; Duignan 1980; Mintzberg 1973; and Pitner 1979, 1981a), principals, and assistant principals (Crowson and Porter-Gehrie 1980; Morris 1981; Peterson 1978; and Wolcott 1973)

provide descriptions of the structure and content of school administrators' everyday work. The structure of administrative work is characterized by (1) a low degree of self-initiated tasks, (2) many activities of short duration, (3) discontinuity caused by interruptions, (4) the superseding of prior plans by the needs of others in the organization, (5) face-to-face verbal contacts with one other person, (6) variability of tasks, (7) an extensive network of individuals and groups both internal and external to the school or district, (8) a hectic and unpredictable flow of work, (9) numerous unimportant decisions and trivial agendas, (10) few attempts at written communication, (11) events occuring in or near the administrator's office, (12) interactions predominately with subordinates, and (13) a preference for problems and information that are specific (rather than general), concrete, solvable, and currently pressing (Pitner 1981b). The aforementioned studies are fairly consistent in their findings about the structure of work for line administrators in educational organizations. However, the content of administrative work varies with the organizational level of the administrative position and, therefore, will consider separately the work content of principals and superintendents.

According to the descriptive studies, principals spend most of their time working with students who are discipline problems and with teachers who have noninstructional needs (Peterson 1978); attending to logistics, external requirements, and social pleasantries (Sproull 1979); and overseeing organizational maintenance, pupil control, and extracurricular activities (Martin 1980). Principals engage predominately in service, advisory, and auditing relationships; they neither become directly

involved in the work flow at the classroom level, nor do they seek change or improvement through innovative or stabilizing relationships (Peterson 1978).[1]

This is in contrast to the fundamental tenet of the job, that the site-level administrator in education should be the "instructional leader" of the school (Jacobson et al. 1973; Liphan and Hoeh 1974; and Roe and Drake 1980). Indeed, instructional leadership, theoretically involving such activities as classroom observation, curriculum development, and staff development, is not the central focus for most individuals occupying the position. This finding is confirmed for a wide variety of institutional settings (Morris 1981), although Gross and Herriott (1965) note that women principals are more likely to function as instructional leaders and Salley and others (1978) conclude that the way in which principals describe their jobs is related to the type and size of school they administer. The general conclusion is, nonetheless, that principals do not get involved with the technical core issues of schools.

Superintendents spend the majority of their time giving and receiving information (primarily about noninstructional issues), responding to requests for action, and attending to logistics and ceremonial activities (Larson et al. 1981; Pitner 1978). Less time is spent in decision-making activities (i.e., strategy and negotiation). The dominant characteristic of superintendents' activities is constant communication (Pitner and Ogawa 1981).

Not unlike the study of principals by Gross and Herriott, Pitner (1981a) notes differences in work between male and female superintendents.

While females are inclined to articulate the specific ideology and activities that dominate each district's curricular program, men speak of aspects of organizational structure, such as the construction of a new school building, the approval of a tax levy, or the graduation of the senior class.

A consistent observation made by all of these studies is that administrators spend little time with their superiors. Levels within the organization--technical, managerial, and institutional--are only loosely connected. Relatively few of the administrator's workday activities respond to the coordination and control functions of others lower in the hierarchy. The superintendent spends little time with the school board; principals spend little time with superintendents; and teachers spend little time with principals. The activities of management seem to be only marginally related to the production activities, that is, student learning, of schools (Hannaway and Sproull 1978).

It has not been the purpose of any of the descriptive studies of school administrators' work either to construct linkages between the work activities of administrators and measures of school effectiveness (student achievement in reading and math) or to evaluate the performance of administrators. While the question of the administrator's impact upon a school's effectiveness is an important one, it remains largely unanswered; this represents a major gap in our knowledge about school administrators (Bridges 1982; Duckworth 1981; Pitner 1981b, 1982; Rowan 1982). Despite the potential cruciality of [the superintendent's] role to education and society, less than a handful of studies...investigate the impact of the chief executive officer. At this juncture,

nothing of consequence is known about the impact of this role" (Bridges 1982). Technical, political, and intellectual difficulties account for the paucity of research and deter members of the educational administration research community from addressing this important question (Bridges 1982). However, to elucidate the problematic relationships among administrator work, administrator effectiveness, and administrator training, we report below the findings from existing studies.

Administrator Impact, Effectiveness, and Behavior

Numerous criteria have been used to assess the impact of the school administrator on the school organization, most specifically on teacher morale, teacher productivity, and student achievement. The administrator is treated as the independent variable in most of these studies, which have been conducted at the school site rather than at the district level (Bridges 1982).

While most research focuses on administrators' sentiments and attributes, several studies indicate that the administrative behavior of school principals has an impact on teacher morale (Duckworth 1981, and Smith 1976). Kalis (1980) concludes that teacher morale is related to the consideration dimension of administrative behavior, as measured by the Leadership Behavior Description Questionnaire (LBDQ).[2] In particular, personal interaction and encouragement by principals has an impact on teachers. The perceptions teachers hold that the principal works closely with teachers on instruction correlates positively with teacher job satisfaction and positive attitudes (Cohen et al. 1977). Similar conclusions have been drawn by Holdaway who advocates that the administrative functions most relevant to job satisfaction include the provision of encouragement

and support, the removal or reduction of irritants, and the granting of reasonable requests (1978). While the above research indicates that administrators do have an impact on teacher morale and satisfaction, other factors such as staff cohesiveness and personal challenge may have a greater effect on morale (Brady 1976). There are, however, seve al studies in which supportive leadership had no relationship to performance ratings, productivity, or the motivation of subordinates.

In addition to the consideration dimension, structure also seems to be related to satisfaction. Hoy and others (1977) found that teachers generally desire and react favorably to administrative structure. Teachers desire definite rules and regulations, but it must also be noted that excessive supervision and tight enforcement of rules produce teacher resentment and dissatisfaction. Lortie (1975) found that teachers wanted principals to use their authority to facilitate teacher work. In the teachers' words, this meant that they wanted principals to "support them."

Cohen and Miller (1980) also found that coordination was important in school settings. Effective principals were found to coordinate, discuss, and advise on instruction, while ineffective principals did none of these. Teachers judged that the ineffective administrator made poor decisions.

In their study of suburban superintendents, Roald Campbell and others (1959) used the LBDQ dimensions to observe the behavior of the superintendents and to provide a scheme for a post hoc analysis of the incidents recorded during observations. They found that three-fourths of the superintendents' interactions were unclassifiable into the consideration-initiating structural framework, with a range of 50 to 90 percent of

behavioral incidents from which neither of the dimensions could be inferred. Another "startling finding was the paucity (less than 4 percent) of incidents from which the dimension of initiating structure could be inferred" (p. 48). These findings prompted them to stress that no claims were made by Hemphill as to the "breadth" of the LBDQ as a scheme for classifying behavior incidents. While extensive research has been conducted using the LBDQ, much remains to be learned about leadership. Still, it is already clear that the traditional assumption--that school administrators exhibit supportive (or unsupportive) leadership behavior apriori and then certain teacher or principal attitudes and behaviors result--is an oversimplified one (Filley et al. 1976).

The means of coordinating and controlling may not take place in a highly structured environment. Duckworth (1981) notes that the means for coordination and control in schools is found in the informal interactions between administrators and teachers. Occasional observations in the classroom, conversations with teachers, discussions during committee and faculty meetings, and reports from students, parents, and administrators make it possible for administrators to collect "secrets" about teachers (Burlingame 1978). Administrators use these secrets to manipulate or persuade. In addition, the isolation of classroom teachers from their colleagues appears to make them very receptive to personal interaction with and encouragement by administrators regarding their work. Cohen and others (1977) found that effective principals offer rewards, resources, and personal interaction with teachers in exchange for compliance and acceptance of joint responsibility for instructional outcomes.

In short, this personal interaction is perceived as being supportive and informal in nature, rather than evaluative and formal.

Numerous studies stress that effective administrators are instructional leaders who direct the activities of a group toward goal attainment (Brookover and Lezotte 1979; Edmonds 1979; Rutter et al. 1979; and Weber 1971). Cotton and Savard (1980) found that specific leadership behaviors appeared to promote student achievement. These behaviors include frequently observing or participating in classroom instruction, communicating expectations clearly to staff, making decisions about the instructional program, coordinating the instructional program, and having and communicating high standards of expectations for the instructional program. Cotton and Savard emphasize that in every case where effective instructional leadership was noted, the administrator under observation also demonstrated technical expertise in the areas of finance and facilities.

In summary, student achievement seems to be related to certain administrative behaviors. Those exhibiting these behaviors share the belief with teachers that all students can master the basic objectives in mathematics and reading, and they assume responsibility for the quality of teaching in reading and mathematics, are assertive in their institutional leadership roles, are concerned about discipline, and assume responsibility for the evaluation of the achievement of basic objectives (Brookover and Lezotte 1979).

It should be noted that most studies linking administrative characteristics with student achievement have been carried out at the elementary level using the school site, rather than the district, as the unit of

analysis. High student achievement appears to be found in schools where principals and teachers share a common "pedagogical orientation" (Bossert 1981). Student achievement is likely to be higher in schools where teachers and principals share the following: a high academic focus across all classrooms (that is, reading and mathematics); high expectations for all students; and a system for monitoring student progress (Brookover and Lezotte 1979; and Rutter et al. 1979). Rutter and others (1979) found in a sample of high schools in London, England, that student achievement is related to common standards and policies in discipline, homework, and staff punctuality. The administrators in these effective schools were aware of these priorities and checked to make sure that the policies and standards were maintained. The studies also conclude that the effective school principal is an instructional leader, though they appear to contradict the findings of many of the descriptive studies of administrative work. This apparent contrast, however, may be the result of the ambiguous definition of "instructional leader." It is difficult to get administrators to agree on what the concept instructional leader means and what behavior counts as instructional leadership behavior. The interpretation of the role differs at the elementary and secondary levels and often between male and female administrators, as well.

Thus, we do not have much conclusive evidence about the relationship among administrator training, work, and effectiveness. Cuban (1976) remarked that, "while we know to the penny what salaries administrators received, what degrees they earned, and where they were born, we know

very little about what they, as executives, actually do each day" (p. iv). The paucity of research in the subject of what school administrators actually do, prompted the interest in the work activity studies. We would like to add that, while we know to the minutest detail the length of every phone call made and meetings attended by the administrator, the people with whom he or she interacted, and the locations of these encounters, we know very little about what impact these activities have on the school organization and, specifically, on student achievement. In the following section we consider the training of school administrators and the possible relationship between the training administrators receive and the work that they do.

THE PREPARATION OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS

Preservice and inservice programs for training school administrators have both formal and informal components. All preservice education is exclusively the province of universities, while other agencies, including school districts, professional associations, and state departments of education, as well as universities, provide inservice education for school administrators. Although most scholarly study of administrator preparation is directed toward doctoral degree programs, there are actually three levels of school administrator graduate training. Programs are offered at the master's, intermediate (educational specialist degree and state certification), and doctoral degree levels. This first section focuses on the preparation of school administrators in formal graduate programs and on the critical evaluation of these graduate programs by practitioners and scholars.

Academic Programs

The content of administrator preparation is frequently discussed and debated in the literature in an effort to identify the chief components of "comprehensive," "basic," or "essential" preparation. Gregg (1969) has noted that there is no general agreement on these elements. Griffiths (1966) reports that the status quo program at the doctoral level includes course work in educational organization and administration, curriculum, supervision, finance, school law, research, educational psychology, history and philosophy of education, the school plant, and personnel. This information is presented through formal instruction, which is characterized by much discussion, some simulation and case study, and limited field experience. The doctoral programs follow a traditional preparation structure including a core of basic courses, a specified number of hours of required course work in educational administration, written and oral examinations to insure competency, the possibility of an internship, a formal dissertation, and, often, a residency requirement (Farquhar 1977).

The early 1960s witnessed a growing interest in the contribution of the social sciences to educational andministration. Doctoral programs during this era, according to Goldhammer (1967), required cognate work in the behavioral sciences. This idea of drawing from the social sciences for administrator preparation was vigorously contested (Cunningham et al. 1963; Cunningham and Nystrand 1969; and Miklos 1969), as were attempts to utilize materials from the humanities (Farquhar 1968).

Farquhar (1977) reviews developments from 1954 to 1974 in the training of school administrators and concludes that change has occurred in four areas. First, the focus of training has moved from delivering information about administrative tasks and processes to an emphasis on preparing practitioners to deal with major problems they may be expected to confront. Concurrently, the content of learning experiences has been affected by the change from reliance on the insights of educational professionals to the incorporation of materials from a wide variety of disciplines. Second, the traditional lecture format has been displaced by "reality-oriented instructional methods," including workshops, seminars, computer programs, and more sophisticated supplementary field experiences. Third, students are more involved in determining what they will learn, and the characteristics of students have changed, as women and racial minorities have been encouraged to seek admission to administrator graduate programs. Fourth, the staffing of departments of educational administration has altered. Professors training school administrators are "younger, better educated ..., more liberal, less experienced (in terms of administrative practice), more diverse,...and better accepted by academic colleagues..." (p. 346). Farquhar also asserts that by 1974 students in many institutions were free to build or negotiate almost their entire program, which helped make the preparation experience as appropriate as possible to particular students' unique needs and aspirations.

On the other hand, a survey of faculty and doctoral students in 60 educational administration programs conducted in 1975 and reported in 1978 by Nagel and Nagel (1978) indicates that few if any programs appear

to have achieved the kind of "flexibility and individualization" described by Farquhar. Nagel and Nagel found that

> The kind of broadening of purpose and focus in preparatory programs in educational administration described by Farquhar does not seem to characterize the programs represented in this survey, for the orientation of the programs in this study was toward traditional, line administrative programs in public K-12 education and toward developing general rather than highly specialized knowledge and skills relevant to educational administration (p. 118).

Thus, there is disagreement about whether or not changes have occurred in the structure and content of administrator training programs. Further, after a study of the three levels of graduate programs, Davis and Spuck (1978) report that programs are virtually indistinguishable in terms of methods of instruction, types of learning activities, and content of instruction (including administrative theory, leadership, school law, and decision-making). Graduate programs are also parochial: they attract students from within their community, focus on local or state concerns, and place five-sixths of their graduates within 100 miles of the university. This localism is most prevalent in master's degree programs. Most master's students attend college part-time and work full-time as teachers in public schools.

Davis and Spuck (1978) suggest that school administrator preparation programs appear to be developmental in nature; each successive program builds upon and extends the content of the earlier program. Boyan (1968) concluded earlier that "curriculum development in educational administration today looks very much like the conventional local school system approach. It is disparate, fragmented, uneven, scattered, and mainly non-cumulative" (p. 34). Whether or not the improvements alleged by

Farquhar have occurred, we do not know that the trend has been for practice-based content to be replaced by discipline-based content and, more currently, characterized by a quest for balance (Farquhar 1977 and Griffiths 1975). However, the essential question about administrator training remains: Does administrator training prepare administrators for their work?

The Inadequacies of Administrator Training

Lacking substantial research to verify the effectiveness of various programs (Culbertson et al. 1969), we must rely on the sentiments of practitioners and the observations of scholars to evaluate them. Complaints about formal graduate studies in educational administration are legion among school administrators (Wolcott 1973). Wolcott observes that principals appear to be unable to bring any special body of knowledge or set of unique skills to the position; they believe they perform adequately but they wish to perform exceedingly well. As a group, educational administrators disparage the utility of university training for preparing graduates to face the problems of practitioners (Ourth 1979). In a survey of 500 school districts, school administrators ranked the usefulness of college and university training low. Over half said they preferred the services of the state education agency for assistance in professional development. Fewer than two percent of elementary school principals credit their success as school administrators to their graduate course work (Department of Elementary School Principals, 1968).

Several researchers have speculated on the source of administrators' discontent with their graduate training. From a comparison of the work

of graduate students with the work of practitioners, Bridges (1977) concludes that graduate training is dysfunctional in the preparation of school administrators. The manager's work day is characterized by a continuous series of brief, disjointed, verbal encounters with a variety of people seeking solutions or responses to a multitude of contingencies. School administrators are frequently interrupted and often face situations demanding quick decisions. Academic programs, on the other hand, require aspiring administrators to spend long hours alone reading, writing, and contemplating potential solutions to problems.

A second major problem with academic training, relating to conflict management, results from the student's transition from a subservient position in the university hierarchy to a superordinate position in the public school hierarchy. Managers' reactions to conflict are important in determining relationships with employees. A collaborative style of conflict resolution is likely to foster a more productive relationship (Burke 1970). Students, however, apparently learn to rely on avoidance to resolve conflicts in the student-teacher relationship (Bridges 1977, p. 215). It is noteworthy that superintendents also rely on avoiding and competing to resolve conflict (Zeigler et al. 1981).

A third area of concern is communication styles. Administrators typically depend on face-to-face communication to accomplish their work. They gain valuable information through the nonverbal cues present in interpersonal communication (Bridges 1977, p. 218). Students however are trained in an atmosphere that emphasizes written communication. Students both send and receive significant amounts of written information. Often a student's success is determined, at least in part, by writing ability.

A final area of discrepancy deals with the emotional content of the work place. Feelings are largely irrelevant in a graduate program setting, which stresses the value of ideas and rationality. School administrators often perform in a less temperate climate. Angry parents, excited students, and aroused employees may combine to overload administrators with emotional barrages. Periods of calm may be interrupted by emotional outbursts that are not amenable to rational disposition. Yet administrators are expected to remain calm and rational. Bridges concludes that it is unlikely that graduate training prepares students to cope effectively with the realities of managerial work and even suggests that the result of doctoral programs is "trained incapacity."

While Bridges is quick to point out the discrepancies between graduate training and administrator work, he fails to recognize important similarities. Students are trained in an environment of ambiguity and uncertainty over which they feel they have little control. Most tasks are initiated by others. Students often receive little systematic feedback and evaluation of their work except at times of important transitions. They are told when they make "wrong moves" but not what the "right ones" are. Bridges alludes to the isolation of the graduate student, but fails to recognize the "lonely-at-the-top" phenomenon and the isolated feeling of the superintendent who has no occupational peer in the entire community. While these elements are not the explicit content of graduate training, they appear to be a hidden curriculum.

Support for Bridges' position can be found in two other studies. In the preliminary findings of a study comparing conflict resolution by superintendents and city managers, Zeigler and others (1981) found that

superintendents with doctorates were less effective in resolving conflict than city managers and superintendents without advanced degrees. They posit that the skill that a superintendent possesses--technical expertise--is irrelevant and dysfunctional in conflict situations involving the superintendent and persons with equal authority. Similarly, Erickson and others (1970) uncovered an inverse relationship between instructional flexibility of elementary schools and the extent of the principal's preparation in educational administration. The less flexible schools were managed by principals with more graduate training. Perhaps this finding ought to be reevaluated. The effective schooling studies suggest that concerted action and a common goal, or focus, are necessary ingredients for improving student achievement. From Koberg (1981), we conclude that flexibility is devalued in favor of greater control as the environment becomes increasingly uncertain, unpredictable, and uncontrollable.

In general the complaints of practitioners are that graduate faculty have not had experience as line administrators in public schools, that university programs do not provide the opportunity for applying theoretical knowledge to actual situations, that the theory itself is too often irrelevant or tangential to real world needs, and that the practitioners are not used in teaching and course development. Thus, practitioners are critical consumers and scholars are critical observers of university training in educational administration.

The denigration of professional training by practitioners is by no means confined to the field of school administration. Dr. G. Thomas Shires,

president of the American College of Surgeons, recently declared that about 20,000 U.S. surgeons--nearly two in seven--are insufficiently trained and would not meet current competency requirements (Eugene Register-Guard, 18 October 1981). Medical schools have also come under fire for their student selection policies and curricular trends. Procedures for selecting candidates in the intense competition for medical school entrance have been shown to predict first-year student success but to be questionably related to predicting effectiveness in practice. Faculty members of prominent medical schools have been accused of using their university positions to further their own specialized interests rather than to help students become effective practitioners. In a similar view, business schools offering the Master's of Business Administration (MBA) degree are often staffed by academics with no business experience. Graduate MBAs are said to be proficient at writing reports and performing analyses but no better prepared for top management than many engineers who work their way up through the ranks. Further, chief executives in the private sector are more likely to have liberal arts degrees than MBAs. Finally, law schools are critized for focusing on abstract concepts of legal doctrine irrelevant to all but a few highly specialized attorneys. Essential practical skills, such as successful negotiation with other attorneys are rarely discussed, and practitioners often must learn them through trial and error on the job (Hacker 1981).

Argyris and Schön (1978) have similarly considered a broad range of professions from the perspective of the society and identified two important issues. First they ask, Are professionals competent? Argyris and

Schön suggest the abstract and irrelevant quality of graduate school curricula is a concern that reaches across all fields of professional training. Related to this problem is the charge that professional training fails to prepare practitioners for potential, radical changes brought about by technological advances. One observer argues that the professions must bear responsibility for this technological change and therefore are confronted with an unprecedented requirement for versatility and adaptability.

Second, Argyris and Schön ask, Are practitioners influenced by cumulative learning? They point out that professionals often do not test their own theories of what constitutes good practice or communicate these theories to others in their field. This failure to test their theories or communicate with peers may mean that professionals function without benefitting from past experience.

We know that school administrators are not alone in their discontent with professional preparation. Thus, universities could be expected to act upon these complaints to improve their programs. James March (1974) recognizes the need for reform in administrator training and suggests how to proceed. He observes that

> One of the persistent difficulties with programs for reform in the training of administrators is the tendency to try to improve managerial behavior in ways that are far removed from the ordinary organization of managerial life. Unless we start from an awareness of what administrators do and some idea of why they organize their lives in the way that they do, we are likely to generate recommendations that are naive (p. 56).

To follow this recommendation we must ask, What knowledge, skills, and abilities do administrative jobs require? With the growing collection of work activity studies, we can begin to formulate a response.

On the one hand, we can infer that the job requires substantial cognitive ability. The discontinuity and variety of tasks and the decision-making under conditions of uncertainty, plus the pace of the work, seem to suggest that a school administrator must have a highly developed repertoire of critical thinking skills. Administrators face an unending stream of activities, people, and problems; the work demands that administrators be able to quickly shift mental and emotional gears. This interpretation of the job suggests analytical skills that might be taught. March identifies five critical analytical skills that are central to the job of most high-level administrators: the analysis of expertise, the analysis of coalitions, the analysis of ambiguity, the analysis of time, and the analysis of information. Each of these skills is linked closely to the everyday requirements of managerial life. On the other hand, the job can also be regarded as demanding less mental discipline and more nervous energy. Some important administrative tasks have relatively small intellectual components. Perhaps training in these areas is not best served in the academic environment.

Returning to the characteristics of administrative work, we can see that the structure and content of administrative work has substantial implications for the structure and content of both university-based preservice preparation and inservice training. First, the verbal mode, the task variety, the absence of task self-initiation, and the pace of managerial work all suggest that administrators must be able to think and speak "on their feet." The suggestion is not to eliminate writing from university courses but to provide more opportunities for verbal expression

perhaps by using a Socratic method to elicit clear, articulate discussion. (Unfortunately, some content is more amenable than others to this teaching method.) Hectic pace, task variety, and lack of self-initiation of tasks suggest that we should scramble the work, make assignments at the last minute with short completion times, and vary the learning episodes by using case studies and simulation materials. Adult learning theory points to the use of clinical training strategies, such as experiential learning, to help students apply theory to practice.

Hills (1975) suggests that preparation programs should include a heavy component of educational knowledge, place emphasis on the development of critical-analytical and problem-solving skills, concentrate on process, involve an internship, and lead students to develop a relatively consistent administrative philosophy. The purpose of a program is to produce people who will act, not merely think. Both intellectual and clinical elements must be blended in such a way that each student administrator has an internalized set of guides to action. Griffiths (1977) adds that more time should be devoted to the study of research findings, whether or not they are related to theory. He concludes that the study of theory is of major value to researchers rather than administrators.

Hodgkinson (1978) goes even further in asserting that the central problems of administration are philosophical and, therefore, not solvable by rational scientific inquiry alone. Being an administrator is more than being a technician and politician. He distinguishes between management and administration. Administration deals more with the formulation of purpose, the value-laden issues, and the human component of organization, whereas management deals with the aspects that are more routine,

definitive, programmatic, and susceptible to quantitative methods. After reviewing the bodies of knowledge in organizational theory, decision-making, policy making and leadership, he concludes that the graduate training for school administrators must include the study of philosophy. For, policy making can become almost literally a translation of philosophy. Administrators are the quintessential philosophers in action. Certain components of philosophy have significance for the administrator. He identifies these components more specifically as

1. a concern for language and meaning, since the administrative universe is semantic;
2. some of the disciplines of formal logic, since the administrative universe is increasingly technical;
3. general critical skills, since the administrative universe is increasingly fallacy-ridden; and
4. a major concern with value.

While the administrator may come to these acquisitions informally, Hodgkinson believes that they should be a recognized condition for professional status, that is, included in the graduate program.

The primary consideration of each of these recommendations is to more adequately prepare student administrators for the central problems they will face as administrators. The mainstream of school administrator preparation continues to take place in universities, as practitioners continue to seek advanced degrees.

BRIDGING THE GAP

As mentioned previously, practitioners are often critical of the utility of graduate programs for preparing them to deal with the problems they confront. They report they are unprepared for the realities of managerial work. From our review of the studies of the work activities of administrators we concluded that, while the work requires a highly developed repertoire of critical thinking skills, some important tasks have relatively small intellectual components. Griffiths (1977) sees two issues in the preparation of school administrators: Should administrators be trained solely in bona fide universities? and Should preparation programs be shaped in the competency mode? We recognize that the interest in alternative training programs at the pre- and inservice level is increasing. This interest is the result of a desire to bridge the gap between the knowledge and skills that practitioners possess and those they are thought to need. Administrators learn by trial and error, rely on one another for coaching, and participate in inservice education workshops and programs. In this section we examine clinical training strategies in graduate programs as well as inservice training in industrial and school organizations. These programs are designed to augment or replace traditional graduate training.

Nonresidential Graduate Programs

The nonresidential universities that offer doctoral (Ed.D.) programs in educational administration, such as Nova, claim to emphasize experience-based learning. They appear to have widespread appeal for practitioners, but they are not highly regarded by the academic community. These programs are

obviously different from university doctoral programs: they have no faculty in residence, no research libraries, and no campuses. The candidates can earn a doctorate in their own living rooms with the minor inconvenience of attending classes for two weeks at Nova in Florida and meeting monthly with small groups of administrators in their area to work on their practicums. Leaders in the field of school administrator training remain skeptical of the ability of such programs to produce graduates of a caliber equal to traditional training methods (Griffiths 1977).

Clinical Training Strategies

Clinical training strategies are proposed as more relevant alternatives to traditional academic training. Although the term "clinical training" is ambiguous, clinical training strategies emphasize, first, the diagnosis of problems in the operational areas of administrator responsibility (school-community relations, curriculum and instruction, pupil personnel, staff personnel, physical facilities, and finance and business management) and, second, the establishment of specific objectives in response to this problem analysis. These training activities often are performed in field settings.

Perhaps the most widely recognized clinical strategy is competency-based training. Competency has been described as "the presence of characteristics or the absence of disabilities which render a person fit, or qualified, to perform a specified task or to assume a definite role" (McCleary).

Competency-based education has been similarly described as a move from the traditional "ability to demonstrate knowledge" to an emphasis on "the ability to do" (Houston and Howsam 1972).

Determining the nature of the appropriate tasks of school administration and the proper setting for developing requisite skills remains the subject of considerable disagreement among clinical training advocates. The typical procedure has been to take operational areas of administration--that is, the existing courses and content of a graduate program--and to specify objectives in the "ability to do" language without reconceptualizing what the whole administrator training program ought to include. In other words, we have proceeded along the naive path that March warned us of. (It is interesting to note that the major proponent of competency-based education is affiliated with a university that remains unaffected by the competency-based training movement, with the exception of the proponent's own courses. It is difficult to say whether this is a reflection more on the competency-based training perspective or on the nature of professors and university-based programs.)

Licata (1980), evaluating an inservice clinical training program, observes that school administrators approve of training models based on the problems and tasks they face. Specifically, school leaders perceive school problem-solving as central to their role in the educational organization. They perceive clinical training alternatives as being more relevant to school problem-solving than is traditional academic training. Licata concludes that, overall, administrators tend to perceive clinical training programs as being at least as relevant as traditional academic

training programs to the performance of the school administrator role. However, the evaluation "at least as relevant" is hardly an overwhelming affirmation of the ability of clinical approaches to prepare students and practitioners for the realities of school administrator work.

Nonetheless, we need to consider the complaints of practitioners that faculty members do not have line administrator experience and that too little use is made of actual practitioners in teaching and in course development. Reflecting upon the preparation of administrators, March (1973) expresses the viewpoint that "the advantage of the university in the training of administrators is primarily in the intellective domain" (p. 26). Nonuniversity individuals and agencies might more appropriately train administrators in the less cognitive, but still essential, skills. March's statement is important for at least two reasons. First, it suggests that some training may be carried out in nonuniversity settings and by people other than professors. Second, it describes the response of practitioners to their perceived gap in knowledge and skills, or what they term "being unprepared and meeting the growing challenges of their profession."

Inservice Education in School Organizations

The theme of lack of preparation is expressed repeatedly by administrators at many of their professional meetings and workshops: "We never seem to have enough time. We are not doing what we should be doing. What should we be doing?" There appears to be an eternal quest for a clearer understanding of what the job entails and of how to go about

doing the job more effectively. Compounding this feeling is an administrative ideology which suggests that if there is a problem, there is a solution, that the administrator is responsible for finding the solution. This quest is manifested in school administrators' participation in professional development and training programs beyond what is officially required.

Inservice opportunities for school administrators are available from many different sources and are organized in a variety of ways. Among the most commonly used types of inservice training are the following: university courses, workshops, seminars, professional conferences, study councils, retreats, and school visits, as well as consulting services from universities, private foundations, and state departments of education. The professional organizations and their local affiliates--the American Association of School Administrators (AASA), the National Association of Secondary School Principals, the National Association of Elementary School Principals, the National School Public Relations Association, and the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development--play a key role in sponsoring a variety of programs.

The Educational Research Service (ERS) conducted a survey to determine the types of inservice training programs being offered to administrators, the amount of time and money devoted to such programs, the variety of techniques used to evaluate the programs, and the source of responsibility for planning and directing administrator inservice training at the school district level (Educational Research Service 1974). Approximately two-thirds of the 598 school districts responding to the ERS survey provided

inservice training for administrators. Administrators in responding districts were most likely to participate in programs run completely by their own school district. Lower levels of participation were reported for programs directed by the district but sponsored by professional organizations, commercial firms, private consultants, or university-based programs. The four most widely used types of program organization were conferences, seminars, visitations to other school districts, and training sessions by professional organizations. Simulation games were reported least often. Almost two-thirds of the responding school districts did not provide salary or academic credit for participation in inservice programs but nine out of ten offered training during regular working hours for a median number of five days per individual administrator.

Participating administrators appear to play an important role in planning inservice programs whereas university personnel have a minor part in planning district-directed inservice programs. Inservice programs are usually directed toward increasing administrators' knowledge and skills in human relations and management, but Louis Zeyen (1981) of AASA has announced that curriculum would be a primary focus in the 1981-82 inservice season. Many of the inservice programs emphasize "how to do it," though some deal with the study of administrative theory.

We feel reluctant to review the "babble of the literature" concerning educational administration training programs and models. Instead we present model programs, which are intended to be illustrative and typical of the present training of school administrators. We will give only cursory attention to the theoretical underpinnings, execution, and results

of each of the seven model programs discussed. Our purpose is to attempt to show the consistency of pattern (or syndrome) across different programs.

The seven training models we shall examine are representative of the major training variations that have evolved in recent years. They include the Assessment Center, the National Academy of School Executives, the Bush Public Schools Executive Fellows Program, the Florida Academy for School Administrators, the Results-Oriented Management in Education project, and two programs that rely on networking--Project Leadership and the Research-Based Training for School Administrators project.

Assessment Centers

Assessment Centers, such as the National Association of Secondary School Principals Assessment Center, are designed to aid in recruiting, promoting, and training school administrators. The concept is based on intensive assessment of an individual's ability using a variety of sources of information. Using these information sources, assessors develop profiles of the individual's strengths and weaknesses for performing the role of school administrator. This profile may be used to plan for future in-service training or to make decisions regarding future employment.

Assessment Centers typically involve simulation of the tasks or problems common to school administrators. Small groups of participants are exposed to these situations or tasks through a variety of exercises, including role playing, group exercises, and paper-and-pencil tests. A skilled evaluation team observes performances, scores tests, and prepares individualized assessment profiles for use by the participant or his or her employing agency.

The results of the Assessment Center experience are to be realized in the practitioner's greater awareness of his or her deficiencies and strengths. Agencies and individuals are provided with rational, impartial data to help them plan for future training or employment. Good practice by school administrators is expected to influence school climate and productivity and to contribute generally to the improvement of schools.

National Academy of School Executives

The National Academy of School Executives (NASE) is exclusively an inservice program; only practicing and certified administrators are allowed to participate. NASE is strongly oriented toward practical problems faced by school administrators. The Academy curriculum is based on the belief that practicing administrators can benefit from short, intensive training and discussion of the problems facing practitioners and their potential solutions.

The NASE program consists of three separate approaches. First, short (1-4 weeks), intensive inservice sessions are presented at various regional centers that focus on current administrator concerns. Second, longer (3-9 months) residential sessions are held at a central academy site. While attendance at the short inservice sessions is open, the residential academy program is invitational and is reserved for the top 200-300 school administrators nationwide. Finally, the academy supports a "think tank" of people who are noted primarily for advancing solutions to school administration problems or who have distinguished themselves as outstanding practitioners.

Like the Assessment Center, the Academy believes that improved functioning of school administrators will result in improved schools.

Academy participants are expected to improve their practice through the implementation of the ideas and research findings presented in the Academy setting.

The Bush Public Schools Executive Fellows Program

The Bush Executive Fellows Program is based on the idea that administrator practice can be improved by training participants in knowledge, skill, and attitudes in selected areas that include school-community relations, managerial accounting and finance, and conflict management.

The applicants selected are highly-motivated, mid-career school administrators. Participant groups (limited to 25 members) are selected to incorporate a broad range of backgrounds and experience. Participants engage in 35 days of instruction over a period of 18 months. In addition, they are expected to use the skills learned in the program to complete a self-selected project aimed at solving a problem in their school district. The educational techniques used include small-group problem analysis, individual preparation, and class discussion. The case method of instruction and other participative processes are used extensively. Teaching methods and topics are borrowed from both prominent graduate schools of business administration and schools of management.

The Bush Executive Fellows Program, like the National Academy and the Assessment Center, operates on the belief that improved administrative practice will, in turn, result in improved schools. Further, it is expected that private sector management techniques are applicable to the school situation, that private sector managers are better managers, and that school administrators trained in private sector techniques will be more capable problem solvers.

The Florida Academy for School Administrators

The Florida Academy for School Administrators (FASA) is organized around the assumption that there is a set of school administrator behavior practices that are important in promoting school effectiveness. The Florida State Department of Education is sponsoring an ethnographic study of administrators in schools where pupil achievement has been found to be high. The curriculum for the Florida Academy will be based on summary descriptions of those behaviors common to the subjects of the study. These behaviors will be taught to academy participants.[3]

The FASA is still at the conceptualization stage. However, it will consist of educational experiences of substantive length rather than of one- or two-day workshops. Training will be provided by practitioners and academics who have demonstrated expertise in the behaviors identified for inclusion in the curriculum.

The Florida Academy is part of a comprehensive state program designed to improve administrative practice that is based on both preservice and inservice training in the exemplary behaviors. The goal is to raise the achievement levels of Florida pupils to the upper national percentiles by improving schools, a process which begins with improving administrators.

Project Results-Oriented Management in Education

The Results-Oriented Management in Education (ROME) project is based on the belief that there is a set of competencies associated with good administrative practice that can be taught to practitioners in a clinical setting. Diagnosis of deficiencies plays a key role in the project's training, which is designed to remedy the identified deficiencies.

Project ROME first uses the Georgia Principals Assessment System (GPAS) to identify practitioners' deficiencies both in functional areas of responsibility (e.g., curriculum and instruction) and in administrative processes (e.g., decision-making, evaluation, and communication). The second step in Project ROME utilizes the Field-Oriented Competency Utilization System (FOCUS). FOCUS entails training school administrators through field-based seminars and using supervisors to monitor participants' progress toward observable achievements that remedy the deficiencies identified by the GPAS.

Project ROME aims to identify and correct school administrators' personal deficiencies in core areas of leadership skills; it assumes that improved administrator practice will result in improved schools and greater student productivity. Evaluation of the project indicates that both field-based and competency-based instruction are positively and significantly correlated with improved school problem solving (Ellet 1978).

Project Leadership

Project Leadership (PL), a program developed by the Association of California School Administrators ten years ago, builds upon networking, professional development, and skill development. Project Leadership is based on anthropological evidence that school administrators carry with them an oral tradition of training one another. The belief is that providing principals with regular opportunities for oral exchange in a collegial atmosphere of trust will allow them to gain information and ideas that will improve practice.

Participants come together in two large statewide meetings and in four to five regional satellite meetings during the school year. The training sequence is displayed in Figure 1.

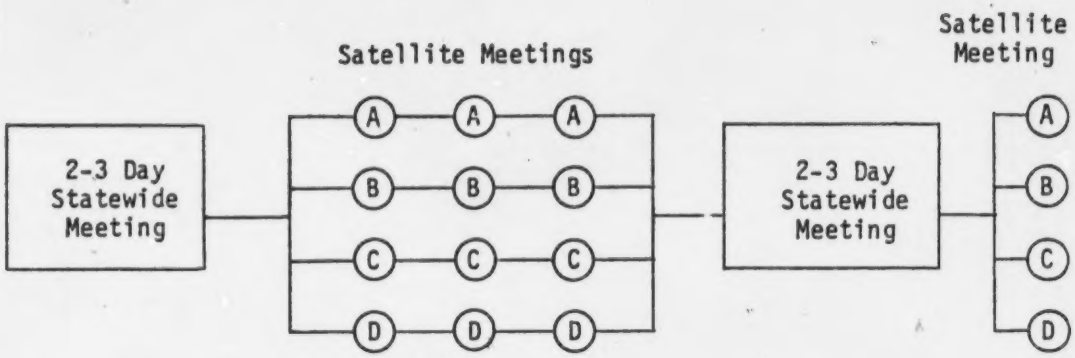

Figure 1

An experienced administrator, called the "liaison administrator," is assigned to each satellite meeting. Liaison administrators plan the statewide meetings, assist participants with their professional development plans, set agendas for the satellite meetings, and coach participants. The satellite meetings give participants an opportunity to focus on the development and implementation of personal and professional goals within small groups of ten to twenty-five administrators. Using scripted workshop materials called presenter's guides, administrators work in dyads to develop competency in one knowledge or technical skill area. Over 30 scripted workshop packages, many developed by practitioners, are available. Participants are expected to share in their schools the information they learn in the statewide and satellite meetings. The program is geared primarily for building level administrators, although some central office administrators also participate.

Research-Based Training for School Administrators

Research-Based Training for School Administrators (RBTSA), a project of the Center for Educational Policy and Management at the University of Oregon and funded by the National Institute of Education, is designed to

overcome the often noted problem of school administrators' difficulty in obtaining and implementing current research findings in education. Building on the peer network and workshop format of Project Leadership, RBTSA seeks to disseminate current research and improve professional school administrator practice. The structure of RBTSA is consistent with the ethnographic finding, mentioned above, that administrators rely on an oral tradition to train one another.

The scripted workshop format of PL is used to present research findings and state-of-the-art literature. The relevant research is interpreted and presented in conjunction with specific administrator tasks or problems identified by practitioners. Training guides are then used in workshop settings at statewide administrator conferences and at local administrator meetings. Local meetings are designed to develop peer networks for discussing information in the training guides and providing peer support for improvement in individual practice through implementation of the research findings. RBTSA expects to enhance practitioners' knowledge of relevant research through the assimilation and dissemination of research findings. Evaluation of the project's past effects is scheduled for the school year 1981-82 (Pitner 1981c).

Inservice Training in Industry

Inservice education is not unique to the field of education and school administrators. Most successful businesses and industries that employ many workers have long-term, well-developed managerial and technological on-site and off-site training programs. The need for corporate education and training arises from the need to accommodate turnover and

personnel growth, changes in knowledge and skills, the lack of turnover of certain positions, and the necessity to improve skills and performance. Lusterman (1977) notes that corporate education and training systems appear to connect with a number of education-related social and economic problems: the transition of youth from school to work, low productivity trends, the imbalance between job skills and market needs, lack of opportunities for women and minorities, occupational obsolescence, and career changes. Most employer-sponsored education stems from business needs and is only incidentally supportive of the job and career aspirations of participating employees.

The corporate educational system has three characteristics that set it apart from university programs. First, participants are highly motivated. The rewards for success and the penalties for failure are perceived to be high, affecting present and future earnings as well as prestige, self-esteem, and the realization of career goals. Second, the work place is the setting for both learning and doing. This learning has both visible and invisible elements, including private instruction and coaching by supervisors and peers, observation, problem-solving, and learning by trial-and-error. Work experience is integrated with classroom instruction in a planned and serialized sequence of theory and practice. Third, the orientation of the instruction is pragmatic; it is an instrument for achieving other goals, such as business profit and growth.

In his study of education in industry, Lusterman identified four training program characteristics: (1) line managers are taught to distinguish training needs from motivational or organizational sources of performance

problems, to conduct certain necessary training, and to guide employees to appropriate training resources; (2) a cadre of specialists assists line managers with this responsibility and provides in-house programs; (3) in-house programs are flexible enough to meet carefully analyzed and changing needs; and (4) the companies have effective mechanisms for feedback on and evaluation and improvement of both internal and external programs.

Summary

While the mainstream of administrator preparation continues to be carried out in graduate programs in universities, a considerable amount of training occurs after student administrators have left these programs and entered the work place. We reviewed a sampling of these inservice programs. Based upon this review we can construct a list of common elements.

The programs appear to be related to the specific content of the job. The curriculum is characterized by short, intensive, and fragmented sessions on topics that are often identical to the names of courses in graduate programs, such as, school-community relations, finance, or personnel evaluation. The content is divided into small pieces of information that stand in relative isolation from one another. There does not appear to be an accumulation of knowledge or skills. Some programs rely on traditional instructional methods while others employ discovery learning techniques.

Inservice workshops provide opportunities for people with problems (administrators) to locate people with solutions (often other administrators). Workshops typically respond to currently pressing needs as perceived by administrators. The learning activities deal with the mundane

aspects of running a bureaucracy, and are far removed from the grand conceptions of educational leadership; they provide quick answers to problems arising in the daily lives of administrators.

Peer communication plays an important role in many of these training programs. This communication ranges from informal conversation to organized discussions about a specific problem and utilizes administrators as coaches, or trainers, of other administrators. Ideally, these conversations give administrators an opportunity to evaluate their experiences and convert those experiences into more intelligent behavior. The approach to training is highly rationalized. A medical model that concentrates on diagnosing deficiencies and providing a remedy (training) guides much of its structure.

While this presentation of training models is not exhaustive, it does give us an idea of what the field of administrator inservice training looks like. In the next section we shall draw upon several of the themes in the previous three sections for the purpose of recommending a future direction for adminstrator preparation.

CHANGING ADMINISTRATOR PREPARATION

Papers discussing school administrator preparation usually offer recommendations for improvement. Some of these recommendations include providing internships (longer internships, shorter internships, internships for experienced administrators), focusing on skills (analytical, problem-solving, report-writing), using different instructional methods for the

same content (case study, simulation, competency-based), including different content (behavioral sciences, humanities, philosophy, less theory, more theory, more specialized and differentiated) and changing the structure of or responsibility for preparation (universities should do what they do best, practitioners should be involved). In following this tradition, we reconsider and identify provocative themes in the training of school administrators. These themes will be covered under two headings: Administrative Work and University Programs. Recommendations are offered for improving administrator preparation.

Administrative Work

The literature generally yields two images of administrators. On the one hand, the descriptive studies point out that administrators engage in work that is mundane and rather trivial. They must learn to do little things well. On the other hand, the administrator is portrayed in heroic terms.

In the first image the administrator is just another cog in the machine whose absence would not cause the machine to shut down. The work activities identified in the descriptive studies suggest that the school administrator is really a manager by Hodgkinson's definition.[4] Viewed in this light, school administrators are ordinary men and women, rather than supermen. The descriptive studies of administrator work activities lead us to only one conclusion: most administrators are indeed made of clay, or at least mortal.

At the same time, the rational, professional concept of authority, as identified by Weber (1974), is attacked by teachers who do not view the

principal as an expert in the instructional process. At the very least, teachers view themselves as the equal of principals in matters of instruction. This demythologizing of the principal is complemented by a collection of studies suggesting that administrators spend a lot of time talking with insiders about minor things, making trivial decisions, and holding meetings on unimportant agendas (March, 1978). This literature supports some teachers' beliefs that the administrator is unnecessary; teachers could do a better job running the school under a committee of teachers or through some form of industrial democracy.

Administrators like to believe, however, that their work, while not glamorous, is necessary. This administrative position is tenuous in view of our observations, and it is further undermined by the antiauthoritarian mood in our present day culture, which affects the possibilities of administrative action. Nevertheless we see portraits of administrators, most often superintendents, as heroes who have taken charge of unruly forces. "Leadership is described in lofty rhetoric; the anguish, perils, and difficulties of being a leader are generally obscured by the extended portrayals of its pleasure-giving possibilities. The leader is viewed as a potent force for good in the organization; his task is to use the influence of his office to bind the wills of his subordinates in accomplishing purposes beyond their own self-serving ends" (Bridges 1977, p. 204). Bridges charges that this attitudinal socialization of administrators inevitably leads to disappointment because such goals are unrealistic and rarely achieved.

The effective schooling studies appear at first glance to add confusion to this debate. These studies suggest that strong administrative

leadership is an important condition associated with high student achievement scores in reading and math. This interpretation is convoluted for many reasons. The scope of this paper does not permit a lengthy examination of the problems regarding the attempt to relate student achievement to instructional leadership, but several conclusions can be drawn.

First, the majority of the studies on effective schooling were conducted at the elementary school level. It is well documented that elementary teachers have different attitudes than high school teachers toward the authority of principals vis-a-vis their work (Lortie 1975). Yet, the findings of the schooling effectiveness studies are being generalized across grade structure organization.

Second, the inference that the principal is an important variable is based on teachers' perceptions that school success is caused by effective administrators who are committed to a specific course of action. This interpretation is suspect for several reasons. Research indicates that strong leaders are perceived to be consistent. Most administrators try to avoid the appearance of vacillation so that their constituents can have faith in a program, policy, or philosophy of management, and can understand the direction in which the organization is going. Moreover, attribution theory research suggests that administrators may not deserve all the blame or credit they get for an organization's fortunes. If things are going well, one tends to take the credit, but if things are going poorly one blames others or environmental forces for the misfortune (Staw and Ross 1978).

Third, the conclusion that effective schools are run by effective administrators appears to be a tautology accomplished by definitional fiat. Effective schooling, defined as high student achievement scores in reading and math, is stipulative and restricts the scope of further study. Because the definition is too restrictive, effective schooling ceases to lend itself to empirical investigation. Most people mean something more than test scores when they talk about effective schooling. Schools exist for more than learning how to read and how to compute. (Perhaps this definition merely reflects the back-to-basics movement.)

Finally, the relationship between effective schools and effective principals is problematic because of the data not collected. Rutter and others (1978) state:

> Obviously the influence of the head teacher is very considerable. We did not look in any detail at the styles of management and leadership which worked best; this is an issue which is now important to investigate. Our informal observations indicated that no one style was associated with better outcomes. Indeed it was noticeable that the heads of the more successful schools took widely differing approaches. Nevertheless, it was likely that these had essential elements in common and it is important to determine what these might be (pp. 203-204).

Here we see the belief that leadership makes a difference regardless of the situation. More recently the question of the influence of the leader has been reframed: Under what conditions does leadership make a difference (Kerr 1976)?

March and March (1977) claim that differences in career outcomes do not reflect proportional differences in behavior or performance.

> ...Most superintendents are organizationally nearly indistinguishable in their behaviors, performances, abilities, and values. This is partly a consequence of the filters by which they come to the role, partly a consequence of the ambiguity of inference in educational settings, partly a consequence of the long-run stability of educational activities and organization, partly a consequence of a lifetime spent in educational institutions (pp. 405-406).

Thus, if individuals in school administration are nearly indistinguishable from one another, it is premature, if not dangerous, to suggest a causal relationship between administrative behavior and school effectiveness.

Personal and social characteristics of superintendents have been relatively uniform, so far as we can determine, over the last hundred years and have probably been crucial determinants in the selection and performance of superintendents (Tyack and Cummings 1977). Assuming this is the case, what impact might training have on school administrators?

University Programs

Tyack and Cummings (1977) note that under certain conditions specialized training might have considerable impact on the subsequent careers of graduates. These conditions include the transmission of particular skills and knowledge needed in a distinct occupation; rationed entry with restrictive admission and limited output; and intense socialization to the distinct norms of the group. Tyack and Cummings note, however, that graduate training for school administrators fits none of these criteria very well: the programs are not selective; the professional community intensely argues about the essential content of the training; and students pursue training sporadically. Carlson (1972) also casts severe doubt on the importance

of professional training for school administrators. In fact, we would argue that the norms of teaching are carried over into the administrative career and become dysfunctional in the enactment of the school administrator role. In view of the homogeneity of the population of school administrators, it is no small task to assess the importance of graduate training in their careers.

As we noted, there is little distinction between the master's, intermediate, and doctoral programs. What effect might this have on students of educational administration? First, it probably serves to freeze the semantic environment of administrators. Managerial talk carves up the work of organizations in a particular way. It isolates certain phenomena and has specific implications. Everyday labels get in the way of restructuring the content of training. They partition and warp reality in certain patterned ways, generating a system of blind spots and distortions. Evidence of this can be found in the fact that inservice seminars are often identically titled to graduate courses. These categories govern the needs assessment studies on which programs are based. By way of example, the administrator association sends needs assessment surveys to their membership who are directed to rank a list of 30 topics for inservice training. Since time management always appears on the list, it is always ranked. If a content or skill does not fall into a category, the administrator does not know how to label it. If the administrator cannot identify what is "ailing him," inservice training on his ailment will not be available.

Further, the lack of difference among programs leads to little accumulation of knowledge or increased proficiency in specified skills. We cannot

say with certainty that an administrator with a doctorate is better than an administrator with only state certification. This lack of a distinction reinforces the attitude that completing a doctorate is "paying one's dues." By surmounting this barrier, the candidate may then apply for positions that carry the qualification, "must possess a doctorate in educational administration." The program is viewed as a ceremony and a minor barrier in his or her administrative career.

That there is little distinction among program levels is complicated by the fragmented and disparate character of individual courses that are loosely coupled with one another. The courses are presented as pieces. Recommendations for change are presented as pieces that reflect the recommender's biases. We really have not considered what the total program should include, and until we do, we cannot devise one.

We do not intend to criticize the various recommendations, for they seem to be well conceived but, unfortunately, conceived in isolation from one another. While administration is a rational pursuit, its rational boundaries are heavily circumscribed. Administrators are specialists in generalism.

In developing a curriculum, it is important to acknowledge the differences between "knowing that" and "knowing how" to do a certain thing. This distinction is between knowledge and acquisition of a skill. The first is cognitive; the other is active or dispositional. Grand generalizations about the learning that occurs in competency-based programs or through internships should be viewed with suspicion. The problem is to identify which information, skills, habits, concepts, or explanations should be

learned in one setting over another. This brings us to March's (1973) recommendation that universities should do what they do best. He states:

> Universities do as good a job as anyone at most aspects of management training. They do better at providing the basic knowledge, at identifying general problems, at isolating and providing broad experience in the necessary and intellectual skills, at discussing value issues, at encouraging risk-taking and initiative, at building social and personal sensitivity, at exposure to conflicting ideas and sentiments, and at building a sense of self-esteem.... The university has a special domain of competence: The domain of the intellect. What the university does best, relative to other institutions, is to develop new knowledge and its implications. It is an intellectual institution....It may be considerably more vital that the administrator be strong, or loving, or energetic, or sensitive, or charismatic, or a member of a particular social, ethnic, or sexual group. We can recognize the importance of such tasks and the legitimacy and value of such attributes without accepting the proposition that the university should provide either the training or the certification for them (pp. 24-26).

While it is possible to treat graduate training as an analytical problem, it has very important political overtones. Several professional associations for administrators are vying for the legitimate authority to offer workshops for credit that can be applied to recertification. While they currently operate along the graduate preparation (preservice) - in-service boundary, it will not be long before they convince licensing commissions and legislative bodies that graduate training at universities is unnecessary. After all, the association can provide a more meaningful apprenticeship at a reduced cost to the taxpayer. The question then becomes one of resource allocation. Does the legislature allocate monies for management training to school districts or universities? If the question is framed as a political one--who gets what, when, and how--we can begin to construct a new training model.

Facilitating Structures

After pondering the state-of-the art of administrator training and searching for evidence on what administrator preparation should entail, we can put forward eight statements to guide the development of our proposal. These statements are based on our observations about school administrator work and training.

1. Administrative work requires energy, cognitive and managerial skills, philosophical understandings, and a knowledge base in organizational theory, decision-making, leadership, and policy-making.
2. Administrator training should be tied to the requirements of the job.
3. School administrators claim they are unprepared for the realities of managerial work.
4. School administrators prefer to be trained by other administrators.
5. Informal verbal interaction among administrators socializes new administrators and reinforces their shared perceptions about their work.
6. University training programs are not selective and students pursue training sporadically.
7. Characteristics of adult learning point to learning laboratories for applying theory to practice.
8. The university is best suited for training administrators in the intellective domain. Less cognitive--but sill essential--knowledge is more appropriately the domain of nonuniversity agencies.

These statements are not new. Yet knowledge of their validity has led to no significant alterations in training programs.

We title this section "Facilitating Structures" because, instead of resolving the debate on the necessary content of administrator training, we suggest a structure within which to resolve it. We also suggest a structure for providing the administrator training once the content is specified.

The structure for the resolution of the debate has three parts. First, the content of administrator training needs to be reexamined. We need to collocate the information we now have on administrator work--to collect and compare it carefully and critically and to integrate it (without using the everyday labels for describing administrative work)--and then to identify the knowledge, skills, abilities, and attitudes that should be learned.

Second, the scope and sequence for administrator training should be specified. We need to decide not only in what order the content should be presented but also at what time--before the administrative career begins, during the initial years in the role, during an activity of disengagement (e.g., doctoral program or retreat), or during career transitions (e.g., promotions or retirements). Curriculum mapping--a strategy used in developing curriculum scope and sequence in lower schools--could be used to accomplish this task.

Third, the proper domain for each segment of the content must be determined. We must decide who should have responsibility for teaching the content--university professors without administrative experience, professors

with administrative experience, or practicing administrators--and also how it should be delivered--in formal courses, workshops, simulations, or competency-based courses. In a previous paper, Pitner (1981d) suggested that the University Council for Educational Administration, the American Association for School Administrators, the National Association of Secondary School Principals, and the National Association of Elementary School principals jointly work on this task in a colloquium that would be staged by the University of Oregon. We advocate this three-part structure to resolve the debate over the content of administrative training programs.

Assuming that this debate is resolved, another structure is needed to facilitate the collaboration of universities with nonuniversity agencies in the delivery of training, to involve administrators in the training of other administrators, and to provide a conscious articulation of the relationship between course work and real life situations and problems. We propose that a new concept for administrator training build on the strengths of the institutions currently involved in the training of administrators. This facilitating structure was identified in our previous discussion about trends in administrator inservice training. The Research-Based Training for School Administrators project at the University of Oregon is a venture in which the University and three administrator associations are working collaboratively to improve administrator training (please refer to page 35).

Through a graduate program and Project Leadership, a university could collaborate with the professional association in a particular state or region to offer a program that would fit the content, domain, and sequence of administrator training identified by the proposed University of Oregon

colloquium. Thus, a student might spend the summer at the university taking administration courses in the intellective domain but during the school year participate in simulations that link theory and practice, or attend workshops that train administrators in less cognitive, skill-oriented material relevant to the position for which certification is desired. Graduate credit would be earned in all cases.

This plan calls for careful integration of efforts. It does not mean the abandonment of the university's responsibility, nor does it suggest that the university will no longer play a role in the training of administrators. It does not mean that the professional training program would provide only those opportunities for intellectual growth that are tied to immediately usable administrative skills. It would mean, however, that the university would support the concept of practicing administrators teaching other administrators in a specified area within a planned framework. Administrators training one another would become an essential component to the program of studies. However, courses would be clearly designated as taught by the university or by the administrator association. The school law course would not be occasionally taught by a superintendent instead of the faculty member with formal legal preparation, and administrators would not act as guest lecturers in university classes. Within this kind of framework it would be possible to attend to the shortcomings of administrator preparation.

Summary

The purpose of this paper was to examine the state-of-the-art of the training of school administrators. Our review of studies on administrator training and the observations of scholars and practitioners led

us to conclude that improvement in training is sorely needed. We suggested a structure for ascertaining what the total program for administrators should include, who should be involved in the training, and what the sequence of training should be. We recommended a program structure that calls for the careful integration of efforts among the university, school districts, and administrator associations. This program structure--Project Leadership--is currently being tested as a dissemination vehicle in the Research-Based Training for School Administrators project at the Center for Educational Policy and Management, University of Oregon.

NOTES

[1]Peterson relies on a typology for analyzing the behavior of managers in organizations developed by Leonard Sayles. Sayles suggests seven types of relationships through which a manager interacts with others in the organization. These relationship are 1) trading (stages of the work and tactics are established), 2) work-flow (the manager relates to activities that must be performed by different people in a relatively fixed sequence), 3) service (manager assists other units of the organization to minimize friction and increase regularity), 4) advisory (manager gives counsel, advice, and specialized information to other units), 5) auditing (manager monitors and evaluates the way units are following schedules, budgets, standards, rules, and organizational requirements), 6) stabilization (manager gives approval to other units prior to the initiation of changes in work flow or structure), 7) innovation (manager works to promote new developments or encourage research into new processes or new products).

[2]Initiating structure refers to the leader's behavior in delineating the relationship between himself and members of the work group, and in endeavoring to establish well-defined patterns of organization, channels of communication, and methods of procedure. Consideration refers to the behavior indicative of friendship, mutual trust, respect, and warmth in the relationship between the leaders and members of his staff. John K. Hemphill, "Administration as Problem Solving," Administrative Theory in Education, ed. Andrew W. Halpin (Chicago: Midwest Administration Center, University of Chicago, 1958), pp. 89-118.

[3]"Management Training Act and the Florida Council on Educational Management," Status report to the Florida House Education Committee (October 27, 1981), pp. 5-12.

[4]Hodgkinson's assertion that Mintzberg was actually studying administrative behavior is questioned by this author.

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